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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

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The Visayans

This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7] The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines. When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8] Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

center, Brunei.[13] It is known that in the 13th century some of the settlers of Panay moved to western Negros.[14] Besides bringing highly developed industrial arts these emigrants from Borneo brought different religious and social concepts. The pre-Hispanic Visayan art of Panay is a mixture of Brahman and Buddhist elements; this is true also of the oral literature and folklore.

The name, Visayan (or Bisaya), given to Filipinos of this mid-section of the Philippine archipelago, is said to derive from either the Spanish term, Los Pintados ("The Painted or Tattooed People")--which translated Viseys--or Sri-Vishaya. Beyer writes:

> The name 'Visayan' in the Philippines was first applied only to the natives of Panay and to their settlements eastward in the island of Negros and northward in the smaller islands now comprehended in the province of Romblon. In fact, even at the time when the Spaniards came they used the term

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[13] H. Otley Beyer, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, p.118.

[14] An old Philippine history, Maragtas, relates the settling of Panay in the first quarter of the 13th century by nine datus (chiefs) from northern Borneo. The Maragtas was compiled by Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro from several ancient manuscripts and other records; later this history was translated into Spanish by C. Santiago-Cuino. In 1943 Manuel Carreron made an English translation of the Spanish manuscript. Both Carreron and the noted Filipino historian, C. F. Zaide, believe the code in the Maragtas was promulgated in 1212. While the Maragtas has not been published, I was able to secure a typed copy of Carreron's translation.

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16] 161 162

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the 197 174

[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat. 162--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 *barrios* of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar *haciendas* and *centrals*. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p.186.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panay[illegible] of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

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Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in anothe another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

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During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; C. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

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[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [10]

BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tangp, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or parao. There were no paraos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, *caingins* of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction.

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period.

Some buyers, however, go to the *barrio* with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

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the same time an abundant supply of cogon grass is available--owing to the nearby caingins--in the upper Siaton River valley. Residents in Caticugan reported that cogon grass is more inflammable than nipa and takes more time to thatch; no dwellings in Caticugan had cogon-grass-thatched roofs. Some houses had pounded bamboo walls; usually this wall type was used only for exterior kitchen walls since it is less inflammable.

Farther north in the Siaton River valley, such as in Apoloy, Cambid and Comon (sometimes called Goshen since Seventh Day Adventists have settled there) walls of many dwellings are made of bark peeled from trees. The bark of the lauan group--danlogan and balangobang--is considered best for house walls. These barks are softer and thicker than other hardwood barks.[3]

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A tree from six to ten feet in circumference is chosen for bark for house walls. The tree is cut so that one end is slightly elevated when it falls to facilitate removal of the bark. The trunk is then cut into segments of the length of the bark wanted for the walls. The outer bark ("dead bark" as it is called by the people) is carefully scraped from the trunk segments so not to injure the inner bark. When this process is completed the inner bark is pounded with a wooden club until sap appears on its surface; then a line is drawn along which it is cut. The

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[3]The danlogan is probably white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merrill and Rolfe) that is widely distributed in the Philippines, including Negros. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA: Philippines OA:
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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

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Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

Height	Width
16-1/2	11
14-1/2	10-1/2
12-1/2	8-1/2
10-1/2	7

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ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

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Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

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The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

48: Finley and Churchill G.E-5 (no date) 1913 OA1 Philippines OA1
Subanun OA33
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Yet we are not without data which may be applied toward the solution of the problem. The formative elements tell a tale of importance. In general we observe that the Visayan employs all the composition members which are in Subanu use. From the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find that the Visayan has in use a considerable number of such members which the Subanu lacks. This is particularly to be noticed in the matter of the infixes, those puzzling yet very convenient marks of a word-treatment which is just beginning to reach out toward inflectional value. From this we begin to form the impression that the Subanu represents an earlier phase of a common speech; that it has not undergone the development which accession of higher culture has induced among the Visayans.

The geography of the culture site of the Subanu leads us in the same direction. On the ethnographic chart in Father Algué's "Atlas de Filipinas" the Visayans are indicated as occupying a somewhat compact area in the mid Philippines. Their settlements are principally found on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Leyte, Sámar. North of this center the islands of Panay, Masbate, Tablas, Romblón, and Sibuyán show more or less extended occupation by this stock. Toward the south they are found in settlement at spots upon the north coast of Mindanao, on the east shore of the Bay of Iligan, on its west shore as far as Dapitan, on the northeast coast from Surigao to Lianga, and upon the outlying islands of Dinagat and Siargao. This plot shows distinctly the movement of the Visayans in their advance upon the archipelago, for it is indisputable that they are a Malayan race both linguistically and ethnologically.

From the tip of Borneo two well-marked lines lie before the coastwise seamen of the *prahu*. The northern line leads from the north shore of Borneo by Balbac, Paragua, and Busuanga direct to Mindoro, with not a trace of Visayans along the line. The southern line of approach, after leaving the south coast of Borneo, leads by Tawitawi, Joló, Basilan, and Zamboanga directly to the abodes of the Subanu and to the center of Visayan life and settlement spread over the area from Negros to Sámar. The position in which the Subanu lie relative to this broad avenue of Visayan migration indicates for them an early association with the main body of migrants. Having taken possession of this region north of Zamboanga, they withdrew to the interior of the country for the usual protection of weak peoples by evasion. Thus they lost touch with the greater members of their race; they remained undeveloped in their inland seclusion and now present an earlier type, perhaps the earliest type of the race which with greater freedom of development under better settlement conditions has marched forward to such progress as now marks the Visayan culture.

By combination of all these considerations we reach the conclusion that the Subanu are of the Visayan race, that their language represents an early phase of the Visayan, and that future investigation may bring